

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5405

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: SOLIS' RIGHT WING POWER PLAY TO SET STAGE
FOR POST-FRANCO PERIOD

SUMMARY: KEY DECISIONS MADE IN PRE-VACATION MEETINGS
OF SPAIN'S LEGISLATIVE,POLITICAL AND LABOR ORGANS APPEAR
AS PART OF STRATEGY BY RIGHT WING TO CONTROL POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT IN TRANSITION AND POST-FRANCO PERIOD.
PROROGATION OF PRESENT "CORTES" AND POSTPONEMENT OF
ELECTIONS UNTIL MARCH 1976, MOVEMENT'S APPROVAL OF DRAFT
DECREE ON PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN FUTURE
ELECTIONS, MOVEMENT'S DEFINITIVE APPROVAL OF POLITICAL
ASSOCIATION STARTED BY PRESENT SEC GEN, RUIZ SOLIS, POINT
TO INCREASING INFLUENCE OF SOLIS AS LEADER AND STRATEGIST
OF RIGHT WING. WORKING IN CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH FRANCO,
HE IS APPARENTLY TRYING TO STRUCTURE RIGHT WING POLITICAL
FORCES IN PREPARATION FOR TRANSITION TO MONARCHY UNDER
PRINCE JUAN CARLOS.END SUMMARY.

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1. MORE CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO POLITICAL CHANGE HAS BEEN SYMBOLIZED IN PAST TWO MONTHS BY FRANCO'S INCREASED ACTIVITIES AND EMERGENCE OF SOLIS RUIZ, SEC GEN OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT, AS LEADER OF RESURGENT REGIME-ORIENTED POWER CENTER. WHEREAS FRANCO HAS SET TONE FOR CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE, SOLIS HAS APPARENTLY BEEN KEY POLITICAL FIGURE IN ADOPTION OF MEASURES WHICH, BY NOT EXPOSING SPAIN TO POLITICAL EXPERIMENTATION, WOULD, IN HIS VIEW, INSURE AN ORDERLY PROCESS OF TRANSITION FOLLOWING FRANCO'S DEATH. SOLIS, WHO HEADED NATIONAL MOVEMENT EARLIER, 1957-69, HAS DIRECT ACCESS TO FRANCO. POLITICIANS AND OBSERVERS HAVE ALREADY NOTED THAT SOLIS IS ACTING AS IF HE WERE A SUPER MINISTER AND, IN SOME WAYS, HAS UPSTAGED PREMIER ARIAS NAVARRO, WHOSE POSITION HE ASPIRES TO. SOLIS IS UNIVERSALLY CREDITED WITH EXTRAORDINARY POLITICAL ACUMEN AND ABSOLUTE LOYALTY TO FRANCO WHICH IS PRESUMABLY REASON WHY FRANCO CHOSE HIM, REPORTEDLY WITHOUT ARIAS' PRIOR CONCURRENCE. SOLIS HAS CLOSE FRIENDS IN MAJOR POWER CENTERS: MILITARY, SYNDICATES, NATIONAL MOVEMENT, AND IN PARDO.

2. ARIAS' HESITANT AND CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS HAS HOBBLLED HIM IN COPING WITH INCREASING POLITICIZATION WHICH HIS OWN PROGRAM HELPED SET IN TRAIN. SOLIS IS ACTING AS IF HE WERE GIVEN THE CHORE OF INSURING THAT THIS PROGRAM IS KEPT ON TRACK, AT LEAST FROM STANDPOINT OF RIGHT WING REGIMD SUPPORTERS.

3. SOLIS MADE FIRST ATTEMPT IN 1969 TO LEGALIZE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS AND, WHEN STATUTE WAS PROMULGATED IN JANUARY 1975, HE QUIETLY ORGANIZED WHAT HAS BECOME MOST POWERFUL AND ONLY FULLY ACCREDITED POLITICAL ASSOCIATION, "UNION OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE (UDPE)." HE RESIGNED HIS COMMISSION AS GENERAL IN JUDGE ADVOCATE CORPS TO AVOID CRITICISM OF PARTICIPATION OF MILITARY IN POLITICS. WHEN HE WAS NAMED SEC GEN OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN EARLY JUNE, FOLLOWING ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF HERRERO TEJEDOR, HE RELINQUISHED LEADERSHIP OF UDPE AND ARRANGED FOR OUTGOING DEP SEC GEN, ALFONSO SUAREZ, TO TAKE OVER AS UDPE LEADER. AT PLENUM OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT CHAIRED BY SOLIS JULY 28, UDPE, WHICH MET REQUIREMENTS OF 25,000 MEMBERS DISTRIBUTED

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IN AT LEAST 15 PROVINCES, RECEIVED APPROVAL.

4. SOLIS TOLD PELNUM THAT STATUTE ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WAS "NOT TOO NARROW IN SCOPE" AND EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM ABOUT SUCCESS AND ACCEPTABILITY OF WESTERN STYLE "DEMO" LIBERALIST DEMOCRACIES. HE REITERATED OBSERVATION MADE BY ARIAS IN "CORTES" SPEECH JUNE 24 THAT REGIME WAS NOT UP FOR AUCTION. SOLIS AGAIN ATTACKED POLITICAL STUDY CORPORATION (FEDISA)

ORGANIZED BY FORMER REGIME COLLABORATORS (PIO CABANILLAS, MARCELINO OREJA) ASSOCIATED WITH FRAGA IRIBARNE. SOLIS PROMISED THAT MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE "OPEN DOOR POLICY" AND WOULD BE NEUTRAL IN TREATMENT OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. PLENUM APPROVED DRAFT GOVT DECREE ON PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN FUTURE ELECTIONS. PLENUM GAVE PROVISIONAL APPROVAL TO TWO OTHER POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS: "ANEPA" AND TO THE NATIONAL SPANISH UNION, BUT DISAPPROVED APPLICATION BY A GROUP USING ORIGINAL TITLE OF FALANGE PROMOTED BY MARQUES HORRILLO, LEADER OF MAVERICK YOUNG MEMBERS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

5. SOLIS HAS MEANWHILE "PACKED" SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT WITH CRONIES, INCLUDING NEW VICE SEC GEN CHOZAS, A LONG TIME SYNDICAL FRIEND. PERMANENT CONGRESS OF SPANISH SYNDICAL ORGANIZATION (SSO) MET JULY 30 AND DECIDED TO GO AHEAD WITH SYNDICAL ELECTIONS SEPT 15 WHICH WOULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO INDIRECT ELECTION OF 150 SYNDICAL DEPUTIES, LARGEST SINGLE BLOCK IN "CORTES". SOLIS, BECAUSE OF HIS LONG EXPERIENCE IN SYNDICAL MOVEMENT, HIS ORIGINAL POWER BASE, WILL PLAY KEY ROLE IN THESE ARRANGEMENTS.

6. PROROGATION OF PRESENT "CORTES", BESIDES GIVING SOLIS AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT MORE TIME TO "ORCHESTRATE" ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN MARCH 1976 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (SEPTEL), OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO HIM AS WELL TO INFLUENCE NOMINATIONS OF NATIONAL COUNCILLORS OF MOVEMENT WHO ALSO ARE "CORTES" DEPUTIES. SEC GEN OF MOVEMENT, IN COLLABORATION WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR, TRADITIONALLY HAVE KEY ROLE IN APPOINTMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNORS AND NATIONAL COUNCILLORS. SOLIS HAS ALREADY PLAYED A BEHIND-THE-SCENES ROLE IN REMOVAL OF AT LEAST ONE CIVIL GOVERNOR AND EVEN TOOK OVER FUNCTION NORMALLY PERFORMED BY FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

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AND MINISTER OF INTERIOR, GARCIA HERNANDEZ, OF ADDRESSING FIVE NEW CIVIL GOVERNORS JULY 28. SOLIS MAY ALSO HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON CAUDILLO'S CHOICE OF 40 NATIONAL COUNCILLORS AND 25 DEPUTIES WHICH ORGANIC LAW ALLOWS HIM TO DESIGNATE DIRECTLY. (NATIONAL COUNCILLORS WILL HAVE LIFE-TIME TENURE FOLLOWING FRANCO'S DEATH.) SOLIS CAN ALSO USE POSTPONEMENT IN ELECTIONS TO WORK OUT A FORMULA WHICH MIGHT INDUCE FORMER REGIME COLLABORATORS SUCH AS MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE, A FORMER CLOSE ASSOCIATE, TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL PROCESS BY ORGANIZING A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

7. ARIAS' POSITION SEEMS TO HAVE WEAKENED SOMEWHAT AS RESULT OF SOLIS' MANEUVERING, HOWEVER, HIS PARTICIPATION AS HEAD OF SPANISH DELEGATION TO CSCE (FIRST TIME SUCH HIGH-LEVEL SPANISH DELEGATION HAS PARTICIPATED SINCE 1939 IN

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE) WAS GIVEN
HEAVY PLAY HERE AND IN PART APPEARS TO HAVE BALANCED
LIMELIGHT ACCORDED TO SOLIS. MOREOVER, ARIAS ON HIS RE-
TURN TO MADRID MADE PUBLIC STATEMENT IN WHICH, INTER ALIA,
HE EXPLAINED THAT HIS PROGRAM OF FEBRUARY 12, 1974 WAS
STRENGTHENED BY CONTACTS IN HELSINKI AND THAT HEADS OF
STATE AND PREMIERS WHOM HE MET EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN
SPAIN'S MOVES TOWARD LIBERALIZATION. THUS, ARIAS CAN BE
EXPECTED TO REMIND SPANISH PEOPLE THAT HE, NOT SOLIS, IS
RESPONSIBLE FOR "LIBERALIZATION" WITHIN THE SYSTEM.
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